

# Waziristan

## Waziristan Military Expeditions 1852-1899

Disaster in First Afghan War led to a chain of events in which, first the Sind was annexed in 1842 and later Punjab in 1849 A.D.,

After the death of Ranjeet Singh the Sikh empire collapsed after waging two wars against the British, First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-1846 A.D.) which resulted in cessation of certain areas of Punjab to the British including Kashmir, the resultant Second Anglo-Sikh war (1848-1849 A.D.) resulted in annexation of Punjab by the BEIC, with Sir Henry Lawrence (1806-1857 A.D.) and his 'Young Men' now trying to govern the Punjab especially the North Western Frontier.

### Punjab Irregular Frontier Force (Piffer)

The tribes of Hindu Kush which hitherto remained independent had no other means of sustenance other than plundering the plains of Punjab; they on regular intervals in mass or in small parties raided the settled areas. Sir Henry Lawrence was adamant to stop this and to establish the writ of Company and to provide protection to the subjects living under the British rule from the marauding tribesmen. He first created a force which was formed from the natives of Peshawar Vale and came to be known as Guides {in fact Peshawar Militia}. Success of Guides led to formation of a separate force the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force, under command of Punjab Government instead of Central Government at Calcutta<sup>1</sup>. Between 1849 - 1854 over eighteen military punitive expeditions<sup>2</sup> were conducted by the Piffers to punish the tribes for their acts of hostility that included looting of caravans and attacks on BEIC, which from tribes' perspective was nothing new. Piffers thus were the first modern day version of Aryans, these Aryans had now changed into the military uniform.

Corps of Guides was raised in 1846-47 A.D., by Harry Lumsden, the very first instance of recruiting the natives into a military organisation. Success of Guides led to formation of a separate force the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force (Piffers-1849 A.D.), under command of Punjab Government instead of Central Government at Calcutta<sup>3</sup>. Henry Lawrence's Young Men also carried out the administrative reforms in the frontier areas dividing it into frontier districts (Peshawar, Kohat, Hazara, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan collectively known as Derajat) entering into treaties,

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<sup>1</sup> Timothy Robert Moreman "*Passing It On The Army In India & The Development Of Frontier Warfare 1849-1947*., Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, King's College, University of London. pp 20-25

<sup>2</sup> *The Durand line* , pp 244-245

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Robert Moreman "*Passing It On The Army In India & The Developmental Frontier Warfare 1849-1947*., Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, King's College, University of London. pp. 20-25

pacts and agreements with the native Pathan Tribes and Afghanistan'<sup>4</sup>. The District of Bannu was the one of the two districts within the Waziristan in the north-east and Derajat in the east and southeast.

Wazirs, which hitherto remained independent, had no other means of sustenance other than plundering the plains of Punjab; they on regular interval in mass or in small parties raided the settled areas. Sir Henry Lawrence was adamant to stop this, to establish the writ of Company and to provide protection to the subjects living under the British rule from the marauding tribesmen. Between 1849-1854 A.D., over eighteen military punitive expeditions<sup>5</sup> were conducted by the Piffers to punish the tribes for their acts of hostility that included looting of caravans and attacks on BEIC, which from tribes' perspective was nothing new. These small expeditions can be dealt with in few words.<sup>6</sup> In 1852, the very first expedition against the Wazirs was carried out from the Tank.

After 1857 the troops of the East India Company were placed under the crown, the proclamation of Queen Victoria on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1858 practically ceased the existence of East India Company and its troops. The company's European troops became British regiments and artillery of three presidencies was amalgamated into Royal Artillery. Meanwhile Henry Lawrence entered into a treaty with Dost Muhammad in which latter agreed to be an 'enemy of enemies of honourable East India Company'<sup>7</sup>. Another treaty was signed in Peshawar on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1857, in which British agreed to pay the Dost Muhammad one-lakh rupees per month for his assistance against the Persian, which later helped in capturing Herat along with 4000 muskets.<sup>8</sup>

In Post 1857 A.D., the War Office and politicians in London especially prime ministers Disraeli and Gladstone had varying policy on countering the Russian threat, one school of thought favoured a 'Forward Policy' which promoted an aggressive posture having British military contingents stationed as far forward as possible thereby making Afghanistan a dependency of British India, the other school of thought favoured an isolationist policy,<sup>9</sup> thereby rejecting the very idea of any Russian invasion to India as not practical, they considered River Indus as an viable and economical defence line.<sup>10</sup> The policy of Lawrence of Punjab in dealing with frontier has been termed as Masterly Inactivity. Diplomatic and military moves between the Russia and Great Britain from 1829 A.D., onwards on the Western, North Western & Northern Frontiers of Indus Valley were like a game of Chess and is termed as Great Game, the very term coined in 1828 A.D., and made famous by the Rudyard Kipling.

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4 *Ibid* ,p 246

5 *The Durand line* ,pp. 244-245

6 H.L.Nevill Captain, *Campaigns on the North West Frontier*, first published 1910 (Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 2003), p. 13.

7 *Durand Line* ,p 246

8 *Ibid* 248.

9 Miller, *Khyber*, pp. 85-86.

10 Mujtaba ,Razvi, *The Frontiers of Pakistan, a Study of Frontiers Problem in Pakistan Foreign Policy* (National Publishing House,Karachi,1971)pp,144-145.

In 1852 the first expedition against the Wazirs was carried out then in 1859 and 1860 in 1879 an economic blockade of Wazirs was enforced and in 1881 another military expedition was conducted against them. Meanwhile Sir Robert Sandeman was able to make an inroad into the Balochistan by entering into treaties with the Marri and Bugti tribes and started moving up northwards and this led to the Forward Policy which aimed at trusting the tribes and making them responsible for their own area. Levies were introduced in which the native tribes were paid for such purpose and this gradually led to the opening of Gomal Pass and this now left only one major pass leading into India The Tochi pass and for this the negotiations started with the Wazir tribes.

### Wazirs Strikes

In March 1860 A.D., the first major attack was launched by the Wazir (Mahsuds) with a lashkar of 3000 on the Tank town led by Jhangi Khan, a partial success. In April, the Piffers retaliated and penetrated till Palosina Plains 'a stiff fight'.<sup>11</sup> Piffers were able to reach Kanigoram and Barari Tangi and after staying one night at Razmak, they returned to frontier district via Khaisora River valley.

In 1865-66 A.D., Major Graham, the Deputy Commissioner (Dera Ismail Khan) initiated the peace process by allotting the agricultural lands to Mahsuds; he also inducted twentyfive Mahsuds in a levy to protect the same lands from raids across the border. It was a replica of Lumsden's Guides. Later eight sowars and rest footmen replaced these 25 sowars. The sowars were being paid Rs 20/month and the footmen an amount of Rs 8/month. Under the silladari system the maliks who recruited them took almost half the pay of these men; legally. By 1881 A.D., the silladari system was disregarded and men were paid directly but less than their previous pay.

The favoured clan was not the one with most peaceful attitude rather the most troublesome Bahlolzai Mahsuds. Malik Umar Khan Son of Jhangi Khan spoiled the party by insisting on having equal shares and stamping himself as the Chief Malik, his terms were accepted. The main branches of Mahsud namely Alizai, Shaman Khel, Amal Khel & Shingi were thus treated equally. The notable Mahsud chiefs were Nusratee, Jungee Khan, Sidh Khan & Golanee Khan.<sup>12</sup>

Peace did not prevail in area and Mahsuds continued 'Sad and humiliating record of offenses ... their raids without any intermission between 1867-1872 A.D.,'<sup>13</sup>

In 1861 reorganization was carried out in army under which the strength of British officers in cavalry and infantry regiments were reduced to six per battalion however; the presidency system was retained but a staff corps was introduced into them. Captain Macaulay took the control of the District (Derajat) in 1873 and more importantly, he assumed the control of border affairs eliminating the

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11 Evelyn Howell Resident in Waziristan *Mizh a Monograph on Government's relations with the Mahsud Tribe ( Government of India, Simla, 1931)* p - 1

12 Herbert Edwardes *A Year in Punjab, Volume 1*, p – 248.

13 *Mizh Monograph*, p- 1

Nawab of Tank from the process, who was put on pension at Lahore. Macaulay was able to reach settlements with tribes, the Shaman Khel were forced to pay a fine to get their prisoners released, Bahlolzai also followed suit in 1874 paying a sum of Rupees 7085 as fine.

In 1875 the tribes of Bhattanis, Mianis & Ghorezai were also inducted into the protection of the frontier. In 1877, the scheme of Major Graham for the distribution of agricultural land was revived and Mahsuds were given the land near Gomal Pass on the condition that they provide one footman for every 100 kanals of land and one horseman for every two hundred kanals of land allotted. In 1878, the tribal escort took Major Macaulay to the Khajauri Kach in Mahsud land. Macaulay reached an agreement with the maliks for raising of Wazir and Mahsud Levies for the protection of Gomal Pass in lieu of Rupees 10/ per person per mensem. Government of India was eager to bring the tribes onto its side.

*'In order to detach from all political consideration with the Afghan Government these independent tribes on our border whom it is most important... to bring permanently under our own influence to the exclusion of that of the Amir'*<sup>14</sup>

In 1878, the kidnapping of a Hindu from Tank deteriorated the relationship and Macaulay put the whole of Mahsud tribe under the blockade, previously it was only the concerned clan, which was punished. Resultantly in 1879 the Mahsuds put together a combined lashkar, the first in modern history purely for war and under Malik Umar Khan Salimi Khel, Matin Langar Khel, Yarik Langar Khel, Azmat Shingi, Bahlolzai, Boyak Aimal Khel Bahlolzai, Malik Abdur Rahman Khel and Nana Khel Bahlolzai struck hard at Tank and with that all hopes of goodwill evaporated. Art of uniting the tribes especially the Wazirs requires something special in a Malik to do so. This was also the last of the Wazirs Expedition, which were not in the name of religion. The leadership was not centralised rather every clan bonded with another due to bloodline and words of honour. The motivation was not religion rather the tribal pride, the Wazirs came for the war purely because this is how they were brought up. The Afghan hand cannot be ruled out rather it was the most logical benefactor. Wazirs have been active players in the Afghan matters. The British reaction was mixed and cautious; there was another school of thought among the British, which regarded all these activities of Mahsuds to be an instigation of Amir Sher Ali Khan of Afghanistan. The British took 183 of the Mahsud maliks present in the tank into captivity as hostages and blockade was imposed on the Mahsuds, which lasted for another two years.

## **Second Anglo-Afghan War 1878-79**

After the death of Dost Muhammad in 1863, his son Sher Ali Khan ruled Afghanistan till 1866 and then displaced for two years and then he regained the crown and ruled till 1879. As part of Great Game Britain engineered the western borders of Afghanistan and Russians agreed on having a clear sphere of influence, a treaty was signed with Russia on the extent of spheres of both empires in 1873, which later became the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia. Sher Ali Khan thus maintained a very dicey relationship with both superpowers.

Second Afghan War started because in London the policy makers now adopted the forward policy. 'Coming of the Conservatives in power in 1874, Lord Lytton became the new Governor General in India. The Forward Policy was pursued (by new Governor General Lytton) and the tension

grew... a mission under Neville Chamberlain left for Afghanistan, but on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1878 it was not permitted by the Amir Sher Ali to enter Afghanistan'.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, a military expedition was carried out 'to remove all anxiety about India's north western frontier...decision for war has been taken'.<sup>16</sup> The war itself was a replica of first Anglo Afghan war. This time also the British forces had to make a detour from the South via Kandahar to reach Kabul. Amir Yakub Khan (son of Sher Ali who had fled from Afghanistan) now the Amir of Kabul signed a peace treaty at Gandamask, with British forces at a British military camp approximately 79 miles south east of Kabul on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1879.

*British Government agreed to restore to Afghanistan the towns of Kandahar and Jelalabad which were in the possession of them exception being the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi however they agreed to pay the revenues of these districts, after deducting the charges of civil administration to Afghan Amir. As a bargain, the British Government retained the Khyber and Michni Passes, which lie between the Peshawar and Jelalabad districts and of all relations with the independent tribes of the territory directly connected with these passes. It was also agreed that a line of telegraph from Kurram to Kabul shall be constructed for which the cost will be borne by the British Government and the Amir of Afghanistan to provide for the protection of this telegraph line.*<sup>17</sup>

Despite the treaty the Afghans again revolted and scenes similar to First war were re-enacted, 'A rebellion took place and the Mission's members were killed on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1879'.<sup>18</sup> British thus concluded that without having a King in Afghanistan who is reliable to their cause and also acceptable to the Afghans, problem of Afghanistan will remain agitated, Yakub Khan was put into exile in India. The British Viceroy in India, Edward Robert Lytton Bulwer had three choices: to annex Afghanistan and declare it a part of the British Empire, to make Afghanistan a strong British ally or disintegrate Afghanistan into small independent states. All these options were rejected by London;<sup>19</sup> instead, Abdur Rehman nephew of Sher Ali who had been in exile in Russia was put on throne on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1880.

## Waziristan

Waziristan came into limelight because of Forward Policy & the Great Game. Defeat of Yakub Khan also brought the Wazirs to the reality and in April 1881, all the lashkar leaders gave themselves up to the authorities. Two British army columns, one under General Kennedy moved upwards from Tank into Jandola-ShahurTangi-Kanigoram-Makin-Razmak encountering stiff resistance at Shah Alam. The other column under General Gordon marched from Bannu via MirAli-

<sup>15</sup> Dr Sultan-I-Rome The Durand Line Agreement (1893): Its Pros and Cons [WWW.VALLEYSWAT.NET](http://WWW.VALLEYSWAT.NET), accessed on 26<sup>th</sup> January , 2011

<sup>16</sup> Durand Line, pp. 110-112 also see Aslam Khattak, A Pathan Odyssey, (Oxford, Karachi, 2000) pp., 70-71. Also see, Muhammad Qaiser Janjua. "In the Shadow of the Durand Line; Security, Stability, and the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan". Naval Postgraduate School, Monterrey, California, pp., 66-67.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid,

<sup>18</sup> Sultan Rome, Durand Line 1893, p 36.

<sup>19</sup> Abdur Rehman Khan, " [http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Abdur\\_Rahman\\_Khan](http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Abdur_Rahman_Khan)

Isha-Razmak without firing a single round.<sup>20</sup> Survey parties conducted survey for maps and both columns returned.

Amir Abdur Rehman started warming up with Wazirs again promising them the revival of subsidies, which they have been enjoying under his uncle Amir Sher Ali. A force of 1000 Mahsuds tribesmen were enrolled for him and act of allegiance was given to him by the Mahsuds. The art of politics is as strong among the Wazirs as it was practiced by the Greeks, a Wazir is under no central authority and as such no single individual can deal on behalf of them, they handed over the chief recruiter Daulat Khan to the political agent.

This was the most complete act of submission that the Mahsuds have ever done, before or since. Mahsuds agreed to pay a fine of Rupees 30,000 for attack on tank, eighty hostages 'chalweshtas' with British and also paying their monthly cost of maintenance which was Rupees 1000. In 1884 the leaders of 1878 attack on Tank were released, thus all the efforts and submission of the tribe was aimed at getting the release of their maliks and not as a sign of weakness.

The two disastrous campaigns in Afghanistan were a logical base to expect another campaign sooner or later and in 1885 the Defence Committee contemplating the future course of action in case of third war or the intrusion by the Russian reached the conclusion that control of all passes leading to Afghanistan should be explored and kept under the control of the Crown.<sup>21</sup> The tribes inhabiting the area should be made an ally with an aim that in any future conflict their loyalty will be with the British rather than with Afghanistan. The only two passes still not under the control of British were the Gomal & Tochi.

Sir Fredrick Roberts then Commander-in-Chief in India wrote a note in June 1887 on the necessity of opening both passes. 'There are strong reasons for a fresh departure in our policy towards the frontier tribes...sharing in our maintenance of our lines of communication...establishing with them closer relations than have hitherto existed between them and our districts in the Derajat'.<sup>22</sup> The Government of India replied in August 1887 'The opening of country can only be affected in two ways, either by the use of military force or by endeavouring to draw the tribes into close and friendly relation with ourselves'.<sup>23</sup>

In February 1887 after the release of the Wazir maliks the government attempted to carry out the survey of the territory hoping to cash on the goodwill existing and knowing that these tribes have subjugated in the past, but they were in for a surprise because when the expedition under Mr Ogilvie, Deputy Commissioner Derajat proceeded it met with great resistance, failed and came back costing the government a loss of Rs 17000/. Mr Bruce replaced Ogilvie and he revived the Silladari system, which amounted to 61 in numbers, predominant was Bahlolzai. In the end, Mr Bruce was able to figure out the 51 leading Maliks of the Mahsuds and Wazirs who in his opinion hold the key to any venture of British in this area. They thus formed a Jirga, which was to deal with the British; it was different from the traditional Jirga of the tribes. 'For the first time in our dealing with Mahsuds tribe,

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<sup>20</sup> *Mizh Monograph*, p -4.

<sup>21</sup> *Report on Waziristan & Its Tribes, viz the Mahsuds, Darwesh Khel, Daur & the Bhattanis, showing our relations with the tribes to the end of March 1900 First Edition 1901 Lahore. Reprinted by Sang- E- Meel Publications, Lahore, 2005. P-2.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, P-3.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, Government of India letter No. 1633F dated 17<sup>th</sup> August 1887.

it appears that substantial progress has been made towards the formation of a manageable representative Jirga on a sound basis' remarks of commissioner Derajat .

In November 1889 the Viceroy Lord Lansdowne accompanied by, commander-in-chief, lieutenant governor of Punjab and Sir Robert Sandeman toured Derajat and Gomal Pass was opened, annual fees of rent Rs. 50,000/. to be paid to the Gomal Pass tribes (Wazir & Sheranis) and Rs 25,000/. for the Mando Khel of Zhob. In January 1890 a grand Jirga was held at Appozai (Fort Sandeman/Zhob) where the Jirga also endorsed the pact with government and the subsidise granted. Amir of Afghanistan was not happy with the events taking place at Waziristan and he sent his own emissary and also an armed escort promising the equal grants to the tribes in lieu for reunification of any treaty entered with British, Waziristan and especially the Mahsuds were now divided into pro government and pro Afghanistan factions. A British military expedition was sent to Mahsud area in the summer of 1892. Which reached Jandola and Khajauri Kach by August 1892. In the same period Mr Kelly a British Public Works Department official was murdered at Zhob by two Bahlolzai tribesmen; both were signatories of Appozai. A sowar of the regular cavalry was murdered near Zam Post, after some time four regular sepoy were also murdered near Ghwaleri Kotal in the Gomal Pass. Mr Bruce was able to convince the Jirga that the culprits of these crimes be handed over or at least they should be put onto, the Jirga trail itself, he was able to achieve a partial success 'a remarkable success'.<sup>24</sup>

## Durand Line -1893

Abdur Rehman was a bold ruler and he tried to assert his authority over the areas, which were historically under Afghanistan, for instance in 1882, Abdur Rehman laid claim to Chitral, (rejected by the British). In 1886, his forces occupied Chageh (in Balochistan) but the British forces uprooted and evicted the Afghans. In 1888, he interfered in Bajaur and Swat. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of India, wrote to the Viceroy:

*'We are getting bad news all along the border, from the Black Mountain to the Wazir territory. The Amir is threatening Kurram, and the Afridis are in a very shaky condition.... Finally, when the Viceroy felt the need to meet with the Amir, he made an intelligent move and wrote to the Amir, "...whether you accept this offer or not, it will be necessary to decide what territory does, and what does not form part of the Kingdom of Afghanistan.'* Abdur Rehman resisted the mission on one pretext or the other and finally agreed to receive the British mission, under the foreign secretary of state Mortimer Durand. The main issue from Abdur Rehman's point of view was his insistence on having the Yaghistan (Chitral, Bajaur, Swat, Dir, Chilas and Wazirs) under his influence.<sup>25</sup>

*Durand Line remained the Apple of Discord between Afghanistan & British India and later with Pakistan also. There fore it is pertinent to have the full text to fully comprehend the future events. The "Durand Line Agreement" between Abdur Rehman and Sir Mortimer*

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*Mizh monograph, p – 8.*

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Sultan Rome, *Durand Line*, p 8, also see Azmat Hayat, *Durand Line*, pp. 128-131 also see *Waziristan & Tribes 1900* p-4. Also see Charles Dilke, *The Baluch and Afghan Frontiers of India*, ( Littels Living Age American Periodical), May 4<sup>th</sup> 1889, p- 287.

*Durand was signed on November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1893, which formulated the formal borders between British India and Afghanistan and defined the sphere of influence especially in Waziristan.*

***Text of the Agreement:*** *Whereas certain questions have arisen regarding the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India, and whereas both His Highness the Amir and the Government of- India are desirous of settling these questions by friendly understanding, and of fixing the limit of their respective sphere of influence, so that for the future there may no difference of opinion on the subject between the allied Governments, it is hereby agreed as follow:*

- 1. The Eastern and Southern frontier of His Highness's dominions, from Wakhan to the Persian border, shall follow the line shown in the map attached to this agreement.*
- 2. The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan, and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India.*
- 3. The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it, as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees, on the other hand, that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgal Valley. The British Government also agrees to leave to His Highness the Birmal tract as shown in the detailed map already given to His Highness, who relinquishes his claim to the rest of the Waziri country and Dawar. His Highness also relinquishes his claim to Chageh {Chagheh}.*
- 4. The frontier line will hereafter be laid down in detail and demarcated, wherever this may be practicable and desirable, by joint British and Afghan commissions, whose object will be to arrive by mutual understanding at a boundary which shall adhere with the greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the map attached to this agreement, having due regard to the existing local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.*
- 5. The above articles of agreement are regarded by the Government of India and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan as a full and satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier; and both the Government of India and His Highness the Amir undertake that any differences of detail, such as those which will have be considered hereafter by the officers appointed to demarcate the boundary line, shall be settled in a friendly spirit, so as to remove for the future as far as possible all causes of doubt and misunderstanding between the two Governments.*
- 6. Being fully satisfied of His Highness's good will to the British Government, and wishing to see Afghanistan independent and strong, the Government of India will raise no objection to the purchase and import by His Highness of munitions of war, and they will themselves grant him some help in this respect. Further, in order to mark their sense of the friendly spirit in which His Highness the Amir has entered into these negotiations, the Government of India*



*undertake to increase by the sum of six lakhs of rupees a year the subsidy of twelve lakhs now granted to His Highness.*<sup>26</sup>

Amir Abdur Rahman had also stated that: "The province of Wakhan, which had come under my dominion, I arranged to be left under *one portion of Waziristan came under my rule, and I renounced my claims from the railway station of New Chaman, Chageh, the rest of Waziri, BulundKhel, Kuram, Afridi, Bajaur, Swat, Buner, Dir, Chilas, and Chitral* the British for protection, as it was too far from Kabul, and cut off from the rest of my country, and therefore very difficult to be properly fortified. The boundary line was agreed upon from Chitral and Baroghil Pass up to Peshawar, and thence up to Koh Malik Siyah in this way that Wakhan, Kafiristan, Asmar, Mohmand of Lalpura, and. The Amir further states that: "The misunderstandings and disputes which were arising about these frontier matters were put to an end, and after the boundary lines had been marked out according to the above-mentioned agreements by the Commissioners of both Governments, a general peace and harmony reigned between the two Governments, which I pray God may continue for ever."<sup>27</sup> Durand Line also marked the boundary of Afghanistan with China where despite the protest of Amir of Afghanistan Abdur Rehman regarding the inaccessibility and difficulty in maintaining Wakhan, a two hundred long and 60 kilometre wide strip was made part of the Afghanistan, thus a British India did not had any direct borders with Russia and Anglo-Sino frontier thus originates from this point. 'everything that happened in Kashmir between 1846 and 1947 was part in some way a product of this strategic policy'<sup>28</sup>

Durand Line remained the Apple of Discord between Afghanistan & British India and later with Pakistan also.<sup>29</sup> The "Durand Line Agreement" between Abdur Rehman and Sir Mortimer Durand was signed on November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1893, which formulated the formal borders between British India and Afghanistan and defined the sphere of influence especially in Waziristan.

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<sup>26</sup> Azmat, *Durand Line*, appendix, p 244.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pp, 134-144. Also see, **Muhammad Qaiser Janjua. "In the Shadow of the Durand Line; Security, Stability, and the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan". Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, pp 79-82.**

<sup>28</sup> Robert Wirsing,, *India Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute*. regional conflict & its resolution, {MacMillan,, London, 1994} p 186.

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The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record, Volume IX, Nos 17 and 18, January – April 1895 ( Oriental University Institute, Woking,) page 29, 'Afghan Affairs and Waziristan by Ex Panjabi Official. Also page 153, 'The Afghans Wazirs and Their Country' by Major H.G. Raverty

*peace and harmony reigned between the two Governments, which I pray God may continue forever.*"<sup>30</sup>

### **Appozai Massacre-1894**

The culprits of Mr. Kelly's murder were finally put on trial by the Jirga and sentenced them to five-seven years of imprisonment, but an opposition also emerged against the very maliks who sanctioned the punishments, three of them were murdered. Bruce and British were busy in the Demarcation of the Afghan borders with India. Government of India also decided to occupy the Wana on permanent basis, the very first British military establishment in Waziristan.

At this stage Mohiuddin Mahsud 'Mullah Powindah' enters into limelight. He was vociferous about the military occupation of Wana by the British troops. In October 1894, the British force under Mr Bruce arrived at Kaarb Kot on the way to Wana when at night lashkar of 2000 Mahsuds attacked the camp and inflicted heavy casualties. From 18<sup>th</sup> December 1894, the British forces again entered Waziristan under General William Lockhart, the columns were led and guided by the friendly maliks and political control was handed over to army. The aim was to capture the main leaders /areas of the hostile clans that included Shabby Khel, Abdur Rehman Khel and Ahmadwam and certain Langar Khel. Lockhart had three brigades, one moved from Bannu-Razmak via Khaisora. The other Brigade moved from Tank-Jandola, Makin via Takki Zam and the third brigade already at Wana had to move to Kanigoram via Tiarza. By 21<sup>st</sup> December 1894, all the three brigades reached their objectives, tribesmen refused to enter into any fight with the British. By February 1895 the tribes accepted all the conditions of the government including the hostages were compiled, it was also accepted that government can have a military presence at Wana, the last condition of the government to expel Mullah Powindah was also accepted.

British thus established army garrison at Wana, Jandola and at Barwand the open plains north of Sarwekai, only Barwand was in Mahsud territory.

Tochi Pass was a different ballgame as the Amir of Afghanistan had claims over the territory and it was decided that before reaching on any agreement with the Wazir Tribes it is pertinent that issue of sphere of influence be settled first with Afghanistan. Before the opening of Gomal Pass, the Afghan Government realising the moves of British made efforts to assert its influence over the Wazirs of Tochi Valley. Wazirs or for that matter no tribe of Waziristan had ever acknowledge any suzerainty of any government in their history however the cultural and religious ties bound them to the Afghanistan. These tribes were not agricultural rather they were and still are nomadic in nature. To them going down or eastward was only for replenishing their fortunes through raids to them west was their cultural hub. Cities of Ghazna, Ghor and Kabul were their ancestral seats and their summer camps, language was the key factor. Pashto was spoken in the area west of Indus however in the east it was amalgamation of regional languages. Area west of Tochi was all Islamic in nature and infidels were not worthy more than slaves but in east they had their own states thus to these Wazirs no matter how independent they were but a soft corner still existed in heart for Kabul and this is what Afghan Amir wanted to exploit.

### **The Waziristan Commission**

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*Ibid*, pp., 134-144. Also see, *MuhammadQaiserJanjua*. "In the Shadow of the Durand Line; Security, Stability, and the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan". Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, pp. 79-82.

The first commission, known as the Khyber Demarcation Commission, was designated for the demarcation of the border from the SafeedKoh to the Kabul River. The Kurram-Afghan Commission was represented from the British side by the British Commissioner, J. S. Donald and by Sherin Dil Khan from the Afghan side. The border demarcation from Sikaram to Laram was done with minor adjustments to the Durand Line map in favour of the Afghans. Both the British and Afghan representatives sanctioned this border in mid 1895. The Baloch-Afghan Commission was responsible for the border demarcation from Domandi to the Iranian border. The boundary from Domandi to Chaman was easily settled by February 16, 1895. The border from Domandi to Persia (the top of Koh-i-Malik-Siah Mountain) was finalized in June 1896.

After the three main Commissions, a fourth commission was set up under L.W. King to delimit the Afghan frontier on the border of Waziristan in 1894-95 but the actual work did not start until early 1895. Amir Abdur Rehman had claims over the Waziristan purely on the basis of historical values. He wrote to the Viceroy that:

*‘But if you should cut them out of my dominions, they will neither be of any use to you nor to me: you will always be engaged in fighting or other troubles with them, and they will always go on plundering. As long as your Government is strong and in peace, you will be able to keep them quiet by a strong hand, but if at any time, a foreign enemy appears on the borders of India, these frontier tribes will be your worst enemies.... In your cutting away from me these frontier tribes, who are people of my nationality and my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my subjects, and will make me weak, and my weakness is injurious to your Government.’*<sup>31</sup> Viceroy Lord Lansdowne replied *‘British government had always dealt directly with the Wazir tribe and would continue to do so’*.<sup>32</sup>

In April 1894, Amir of Afghanistan was informed that a brigade of force will be accompanying the demarcation commission to avoid any trouble with Wazirs, this brigade would be stationed at Spina Valley and actual strength of escort would be 400. The Demarcation Commissioner Mr Bruce who was also the commissioner of Derajat along with Mr Anderson Deputy Commissioner Bannu and Mr King camped at Domandi. In August 1894, the tribes were informed about this demarcation.

The demarcation in Waziristan commenced from Charkiagarh Hill and passing across the Tochi at Pachagari follows the crest of the hills, which lie, between the Birmal and Shawal Valleys leaving Birmal within Afghanistan boundary-up to Khawaja Khidar and from the latter to near Shakin, which will also remain within the Afghan boundary. From Shakin, the line runs due south to the crest of the range crossed by the NazanKotal to a place six miles to the south of the Kotal. Thence it follows the Spira Range to Domandi, which lies, on the junction of the Gomal & Khidar River to Khawaja Khidar<sup>33</sup>.

**By 1895 Waziristan** was divided into two main administrative areas the North & South basing upon the two rivers namely Tochi in North and Gomal in South with the plateau of Razmak (6666 feet) forming the boundary. Tribes in North Waziristan were placed under the Deputy

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<sup>31</sup> Azmat, *Durand Line*, p131.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid* 132.

<sup>33</sup> *Waziristan Report 1900*, p-4.

Commissioner Bannu and South under Deputy Commissioner Dera Ismail Khan; both working under Commissioner Derajat who was Mr Bruce. After 1895 political officers were placed at Tochi & Wana with special powers for northern and southern parts working under the Commissioner Derajat. Tochi River collects the drainage of the Afghan districts of Sarabi & Birmal and on British side that of Shawal and all the valleys running into Daur. It runs along the hills north of Datta Khel, Boya, MiranShah, and Khajauri and joins Kurram River east of Lakki. Its total length in the North Waziristan is approximately 80 miles. This river is the main source of irrigation in this area. By 1895 Waziristan was divided into two main administrative areas the North & South basing upon the two rivers namely Tochi in North and Gomal in South with the plateau of Razmak (6666 feet) forming the boundary. Tribes in North Waziristan were placed under the Deputy Commissioner Bannu and South under Deputy Commissioner Dera Ismail Khan; both working under Commissioner Derajat who was Mr Bruce. After 1895 political officers were placed at Tochi & Wana with special powers for northern and southern parts working under the Commissioner Derajat. Tochi River collects the drainage of the Afghan districts of Sarabi & Birmal and on British side that of Shawal and all the valleys running into Daur. It runs along the hills north of Datta Khel, Boya, MiranShah, and Khajauri and joins Kurram River east of Lakki. Its total length in the North Waziristan is approximately 80 miles. This river is the main source of irrigation in this area.

## **Tochi Valley**

The valley may be divided into four distinct parts. Upper Tochi Valley from DwaToi to Muhammad Khel, from Muhammad Khel to Isha Pass is termed as Upper Daur where as the Lower Daur from Isha Pass to Khajauri and then from Khajauri to the Bannu Plains is termed as Lower Tochi. Floods are rare but when they occurred, they seldom last more than half a day. The traders of Ghazna and Kabul largely preferred the Gomal Pass route where as the Tochi Pass was more frequently used by the Powindahs.

North Waziristan covers an area of 2318 square miles. Tochi Valley from Datta Khel to Khajauri is fertile and intensively cultivated with the water of the Tochi River. On its North West is Afghanistan, in the North East is Kurram Agency, in the South is South Waziristan, and in the East are Bannu and Kohat Divisions.

Much of the North Waziristan is incredibly bare, The area is in reality largely unpopulated, the tribesmen congregating in villages and hamlets situated in the less arid portions of the valley or the areas which lie within their reach of grazing grounds. It would appear from the topography of the area that at one time, the whole region was largely covered with woods but the reckless cutting of trees has altered the character of land and climate. In the hills, cultivation is practiced on every flat piece of ground. Due to these natural conditions, the population remains pastoral & migratory.

Khajauri is the gateway to North Waziristan from Frontier Region Bannu. As the name indicates, it has an abundance of date palms covering an area of about five square miles. It is situated on the left bank of Tochi River at its junction with Shana Algad. Other main towns in North Waziristan are DattaKhel. MiranShah, Boya, MirAli, Razmak, Shiwa, Dosalli and Ghulam Khan. All these are located on the riverbanks or water source. Small villages are scattered all over the agency. The inhabitants live in villages of all sizes. The general grouping and frequency of villages vary from valley to valley but mud bricks wall and towers invariably defend these. A peculiarity of many Wazir villages is their close proximity to large caves, to which the tribesmen have access as dwelling places in winter for the sake of protection from harsh weather. These caves are also admirable as an air raid shelters. The way of life is as primitive as it was almost thousand years in every aspect not only in

terms of construction of houses but also in the form of social values, which are termed as Riwaj. Each village is the home of a certain clan which for all practical purposes acts and behaves as a sovereign state, formulating and ratifying treaties and declaring war providing amnesty and shelter to outlaws from other clans depending upon either a collective decision or at times acting at their own will. Surrounding grazing grounds are joint property and so are fruit trees and orchards.

There is no central hereditary power junta rather it varies with time to time. Polygamy is a common practice, which becomes a necessity because of frequent feuds and war. There is no concept of population control rather more the children stronger is the clan and tribe. Women are treated with respect and are seldom seen outside their walled compounds. Kidnapping or rape of females is a rarity. The practising religion is the Sunni sect of Islam. Elders are respected, Jirga is the parliament of the clan where collective decisions are taken and are bound to be observed.

North Waziristan thus includes the country of the Darwesh Khel and Gurbuz Wazirs, the latter live between the Tochi and Khost Valley and after Durand Line came under the Kabul regime, however a small clan occupies area astride Tochi Pass and southern slopes of Mazdak, which came under Delhi regime. Daur was another tribe that came under the North Waziristan apart from Bhattanis who to some extent came under the control of Deputy Commissioner Bannu. The District of Bannu was formed in 1861 and it had three sub administrative tehsils namely Bannu itself, Lakki and Mianwali. In 1895 the Marwats were the numerous tribe within Bannu having a population of 52000, Wazirs numbered 24000 and Bhattanis a mere 2000. Bhattanis were the first tribe to have a Levy and as such, they were not in the good books of Wazirs (Mahsuds).